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THE POLITICAL PERSONALITIES OF 1996 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BILL CLINTON AND BOB DOLE

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The personalities of President Bill Clinton and Senator Bob Dole were indirectly assessed from the conceptual perspective of Theodore Millon. Information pertaining to Bill Clinton and Bob Dole was collected from published biographical material and synthesized into personality profiles using Millon's diagnostic criteria. President Clinton was found to be primarily Asserting/self-promoting and Outgoing/gregarious, whereas Senator Dole emerged from the assessment as primarily Controlling/dominant and Conforming/dutiful. A dimensional reconceptualization of the results to examine convergences among the present Millon-based findings, Simonton's dimensions of presidential style, and the five-factor model suggests that Clinton is predominantly charismatic/extraverted, whereas Dole is deliberative/conscientious and relatively low on interpersonal/agreeableness. The profile for Bill Clinton is consistent with a presidency troubled by ethical questions and lapses of judgment, and provides an explanatory framework for Clinton's high achievement drive and his ability to retain a following and maintain his self-confidence in the face of adversity.

The final decade of the millennium was heralded by political events of global significance, stimulating renewed scholarly interest in the roles of high-level leaders in shaping political outcomes. Accordingly, following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 the personality of Saddam Hussein became the subject of intense academic speculation (e.g., Parson, 1991; Post, 1991). Likewise, Mikhail Gorbachev, 1990 recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of his personal initiatives in the Soviet Union, attracted the attention of political psychologists (e.g., Glad, 1996; Wallace, Suedfeld, & Thachuk, 1996; Winter, Hermann, Weintraub, & Walker, 1991). In South Africa, extensive reforms, including the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, followed almost immediately upon F. W. de Klerk's

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assumption of the presidency in September 1989. Not surprisingly then, De Klerk and Mandela have featured in the political-psychological literature of the nineties (e.g., Geldenhuys & Kotzé, 1991; Glad, 1996; Glad & Blanton, 1997).

In the United States lingering apprehension about personality in politics following the Watergate scandal and the Iran-Contra affair have been resurrected as concerns over "character issues" in the Clinton presidency during a period in public psychology that Renshon (1996b, chap. 1) has labeled "an era of doubt." In short, the construct of personality has assumed a position of prominence in the contemporary study of political leadership. Thus, Renshon (1996b) has argued that

many of the most important aspects of presidential performance rely on the personal characteristics and skills of the president....It is his views, his goals, his bargaining skills...., his judgments, his choices of response to arising circumstance that set the levers of administrative, constitutional, and institutional structures into motion. (p. 7)

This perspective provides a context for the present investigation, whose object was to assess the personalities of Democratic incumbent President Bill Clinton and 1996 Republican challenger Senator Bob Dole and to examine the political implications of the two candidates' personalities with reference to their personality-based leadership characteristics, including leadership style and executive performance.

Background to the Study

In his 1990 review of the field of personality and politics Simonton suggested that the dominant paradigm in the psychological examination of leaders had shifted from the earlier preponderance of qualitative, idiographic, psychobiographical analysis, toward quantitative and nomothetic methods. This trend (see Simonton, 1990, p. 671) reflects the impact of Hermann's (e.g., 1974, 1978, 1980, 1984, 1987) investigations of the impact of personal characteristics on foreign policy, Winter's (e.g., 1980, 1987) examination of the role of social motives in leader performance, and Suedfeld's and Tetlock's (e.g., Suedfeld & Tetlock, 1977; Tetlock, 1985) work in integrative complexity.

Whereas the work of Hermann, Winter, Suedfeld, Tetlock, and their associates relies for the most part on content analysis of public documents, another major thrust in the emerging quantitative-nomothetic approach to the study of political personality noted by Simonton, involves the extension of standard personality instruments and techniques to the analysis of biographical material for the indirect assessment of political leaders (e.g., Kowert, 1996; Milburn, 1977; Simonton, 1986; see Simonton, 1990, p. 671). The latter approach is favored by the present investigator, who has adapted Millon's model of personality (1969, 1981, 1986a, 1986b, 1990, 1991, 1994a, 1996; Millon & Everly, 1985) for the biographically based study of political personality (see Immelman, 1993a). The resulting methodology, termed *psychodiagnostic meta-analysis*,¹ entails the construction of personality profiles derived from clinical analysis of diagnostically relevant content in political-psychological analyses, journalistic accounts, and biographies or autobiographies of political figures.

In the domain of political personality assessment the present approach is methodologically located between traditional psychobiography or psychohistory on the one hand, and historiometry on the other. It shares with historiometry its dedication to quantitative measurement but unlike historiometry, which is atheoretical and nomothetic (Simonton, 1986,

p. 149), psychodiagnostic meta-analysis is theory driven. It shares the idiographic emphasis of classic psychohistory and psychobiography, but has the nomothetic appeal of yielding personality profiles that permit direct comparisons among leaders. Despite considerable methodological divergence the present approach is conceptually equivalent to that of Simonton (1986, 1988) in that it quantifies, reduces, and organizes qualitative data derived from published biographical materials. As observed by Simonton, who has credited Etheredge (1978) with establishing the diagnostic utility "of abstracting individual traits immediately from biographic data" to uncover the link between personality and political leadership (1990, p. 677), "biographical materials [not only]...supply a rich set of facts about childhood experiences and career development...[but] such secondary sources can offer the basis for personality assessments as well" (1986, p. 150).

There is a risk, however, that quantification of biographical data, though a nomothetic necessity, will ultimately prove insufficient if the indirect assessment of political personality is to advance as a science. For Millon (1994b; see also 1990, p. 175), a hallmark of mature science is the progression "from an observationally based stage to one that is characterized by abstract concepts, or theoretical systematizations" (p. 296). This echoes an earlier critique of the current state of personality theory, in which Millon (1990) had stated, "Much of personology...remains adrift, divorced from broader spheres of scientific knowledge, isolated from firmly grounded, if not universal principles, leading one to continue building the patchwork quilt of concepts and data domains that characterize the field" (p. 11).

In my view, Millon's conceptual model offers a promising foundation for the scientific investigation of personality in relation to political leadership: epistemologically, it synthesizes the formerly disparate fields of psychopathology and normatology and formally connects them to "broader spheres of scientific knowledge," most notably "their foundations in the natural sciences" (Millon, 1991, pp. 356–357); diagnostically, it offers an empirically validated taxonomy of personality patterns congruent with the syndromes described on Axis II of the fourth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV) of the American Psychiatric Association (APA; 1994), thus rendering it compatible with conventional psychodiagnostic methods and standard clinical practice in personality assessment. In short, Millon offers a theoretically coherent alternative to existing conceptual frameworks and assessment methodologies for the psychological examination of political leaders.

Millon's Model of Personality

A comprehensive review of Millon's personological model and its applicability to political personality has been provided elsewhere (Immelman, 1993a). The present description is limited to a brief account of the basic conceptual features of the model.

Millon (1994b) favors a theoretically grounded "prototypal domain model" (p. 292) that combines quantitative dimensional elements (e.g., the five-factor approach) with the qualitative categorical approach of the DSM-IV. The categorical aspect of his model is represented by eight universal attribute domains (expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, morphologic organization) relevant to all personality patterns (see Table 1). Millon specifies prototypal features (diagnostic criteria) within each of the eight domains for each

Table 1
Millon's Eight Attribute Domains

<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Description</i>
Expressive behavior	The individual's characteristic behavior; how the individual typically appears to others; what the individual knowingly or unknowingly reveals about him- or herself.
Interpersonal conduct	How the individual typically interacts with others; the attitudes that underlie, prompt, and give shape to these actions; the methods by which the individual engages others to meet his or her needs; how the individual copes with social tensions and conflicts.
Cognitive style	How the individual focuses and allocates attention, encodes and processes information, organizes thoughts, makes attributions, and communicates reactions and ideas to others.
Mood/temperament	How the individual typically displays emotion; the predominant character of an individual's affect and the intensity and frequency with which he or she expresses it.
Self-image	The individual's perception of self-as-object or the manner in which the individual overtly describes him- or herself.
Regulatory mechanisms	The individual's characteristic mechanisms of self-protection, need gratification, and conflict resolution.
Object representations	The residue of significant past experiences, composed of memories, attitudes, and affects that underlie the individual's perceptions of and reactions to ongoing events.
Morphologic organization	The structural strength, interior congruity, and functional efficacy of the personality system.

Note: From *Disorders of Personality: DSM-IV and Beyond* (pp. 141–146), by T. Millon, 1996, New York: Wiley; *Toward a New Personology: An Evolutionary Model* (chap. 5), by T. Millon, 1990, New York: Wiley; and *Personality and Its Disorders: A Biosocial Learning Approach* (p. 32), by T. Millon and G. S. Everly, Jr., 1985, New York: Wiley. Copyright © 1996, © 1990, © 1985 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Adapted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

personality style (Millon & Everly, 1985) or disorder (1986b, 1990, 1996) accommodated in his taxonomy. The dimensional aspect of the schema is achieved by rating the “prominence or pervasiveness” (1994b, p. 292) of the diagnostic criteria associated with the various personality styles, yielding, in effect, a profile of hypothetically stable and enduring personality patterns.

The range of Millon's attribute domains is consistent with Simonton's (1990) exhortation that an integrative framework for the study of political personality “should deal with both cognitive and motivational dispositions, and both personal and social orientations” (p. 678). Millon's domain of cognitive style accommodates cognitive dispositions, and in concert with his domain of interpersonal conduct, also accommodates social motives (see Millon, 1990, pp. 85–92). Millon's domains of expressive behavior and self-image accommodate personal orientations and his domain of interpersonal conduct accommodates social orientations. In addition, Millon's mood/temperament domain accommodates affect (e.g., enjoyment) and temperament (e.g., activity level), both of which have featured prominently in the assessment of political personality, most notably Barber's (1992) typology of presidential character. Furthermore, though not included in the present methodology, Millon's domains of regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization accommodate psychodynamic per-

spectives ranging from classic psychoanalysis to ego-psychological and object-relations theory, and possibly also the modern Kohutian self-psychological formulation which has attracted a significant following in the field of political psychology (e.g., Renshon, 1996a, 1996b; Steinberg, 1996; Swansbrough, 1994).

Finally, Millon offers an integrative view of normality and psychopathology, arguing that “[n]o sharp line divides normal from pathological behavior; they are relative concepts representing arbitrary points on a continuum or gradient” (Millon, 1994b, p. 283). Thus, whereas criteria for normality include “a capacity to function autonomously and competently, a tendency to adjust to one’s environment effectively and efficiently, a subjective sense of contentment and satisfaction, and the ability to actualize or to fulfill one’s potentials” (p. 283), the presence of psychopathology is established by the degree to which a person is deficient in these areas. At base, then, Millon regards pathology as resulting “from the same forces...involved in the development of normal functioning...., [the determining influence being] the character, timing, and intensity” (p. 283) of these factors (see also Millon, 1996, pp. 12–13).

Purpose of the Study

The present investigation is a psychodiagnostic case study of William Jefferson (Bill) Clinton, 42nd president of the United States, and Robert Joseph (Bob) Dole, at the time of the study senior senator from the state of Kansas, majority leader in the U.S. Senate, and front-runner for the Republican Party’s 1996 presidential nomination. The purpose of the study was to (a) construct Millon-based personality profiles for Clinton and Dole; (b) examine the political relevance of these profiles; (c) establish the utility of Millon’s model of personality for the indirect assessment of political personality; and (d) connect the present findings with political-psychological studies using alternative conceptual frameworks and methodologies.

METHOD

Materials

The materials consisted of biographical sources and the personality inventory employed to systematize and synthesize diagnostically relevant information collected from the literature on Bill Clinton and Bob Dole.

Sources of Data

Diagnostic information pertaining to the personal and public lives of Bill Clinton and Bob Dole was gathered from a variety of published material. Sources were selected with a view to securing broadly representative data sets. Criteria included comprehensiveness of scope (e.g., coverage of developmental history as well as adult life), inclusiveness of literary genre (e.g., biography, autobiography, journalism, scholarly analysis), and author’s perspective (e.g., admiring, critical, calculatedly balanced). With reference to Clinton the following sources were consulted for diagnostic information:

1. Three articles (Friedman, 1994; Heifetz, 1994; Mazlish, 1994) from a collection of papers published as the symposium "Further Reflections on the Clinton Presidency" in the December 1994 issue of *Political Psychology*, journal of the International Society of Political Psychology.
2. Several contributions (Bennett, 1995; Greenstein, 1995; Hermann, 1995; Kumar, 1995; Renshon, 1995; Suedfeld & Wallace, 1995; Winter, 1995) in *The Clinton Presidency: Campaigning, Governing, and the Psychology of Leadership* (1995), edited by Stanley Renshon.
3. *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency* (1994) by political writer and broadcast media commentator Elizabeth Drew.
4. *On the Make: The Rise of Bill Clinton* (1994) by Meredith Oakley, political reporter for the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*.
5. *The Agenda: Inside the Clinton White House* (1994) by journalist Bob Woodward of *The Washington Post*.
6. *The Dysfunctional President: Inside the Mind of Bill Clinton* (1995), a clinically oriented study by psychologist Paul Fick.
7. *First in His Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton* (1995) by journalist David Maraniss of *The Washington Post*.

In the case of Bob Dole the following sources were consulted for diagnostically useful information:

1. *The Doles: Unlimited Partners* (1988), Bob and Elizabeth Dole's autobiography written in collaboration with Richard Norton Smith.
2. *Bob Dole* (1995) by journalist Richard Ben Cramer, formerly of the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. With the exception of a new introductory chapter, this book is excerpted from *What It Takes: The Way to the White House* (1992), Cramer's chronicle of the 1988 presidential race.
3. *Senator for Sale: An Unauthorized Biography of Senator Bob Dole* (1995), a highly critical biography by Stanley G. Hilton, who served as Senate counsel and aide on Bob Dole's staff in 1979 and 1980. This book is a revised, updated version of Hilton's earlier *Bob Dole: American Political Phoenix* (1988).
4. *The Quotable Bob Dole: Witty, Wise and Otherwise* (1996) by Jon Margolis, a collection of Bob Dole quotes and anecdotes.
5. The revised paperback edition (1996; originally published 1994) of *Bob Dole: The Republicans' Man for All Seasons* by Jake Thompson, Washington correspondent for the *Kansas City Star*.

Personality Inventory

The assessment instrument was compiled and adapted from the published work of Millon (1969, 1986b, 1990; Millon & Everly, 1985). This compilation (Immelman, 1993c) of Millon's prototypal features for normal and disordered personality styles is provisionally referred to as the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC).² The compilation of this inventory and the development of a scoring system was stimulated by the need (see Immelman, 1993a) for a psychodiagnostically relevant conceptual framework and methodology for the indirect assessment of political leaders and historical figures. Information on the

Table 2
Million Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Scales and Gradations

Scale 1:	Controlling pattern
	a. Forceful
	b. Dominant
	c. Aggressive (Sadistic [DSM-III-R; Appendix A])
Scale 2:	Asserting pattern
	a. Confident
	b. Self-promoting
	c. Narcissistic (301.81)
Scale 3:	Outgoing pattern
	a. Sociable
	b. Gregarious
	c. Histrionic (301.50)
Scale 4:	Agreeing pattern
	a. Cooperative
	b. Congenial
	c. Dependent (301.6)
Scale 5:	Complaining pattern
	a. Discontented
	b. Negativistic
	c. Passive-aggressive (DSM-III-R; 301.84)
Scale 6:	Conforming pattern
	a. Respectful
	b. Dutiful
	c. Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive; 301.4)
Scale 7:	Hesitating pattern
	a. Inhibited
	b. Insecure
	c. Avoidant (301.82)
Scale 8:	Retiring pattern
	a. Introversive
	b. Aloof
	c. Schizoid (301.20)
Scale 9:	Distrusting pattern
	d. Suspicious
	e. Paranoid (301.0)
Scale 0:	Erratic pattern
	d. Unstable
	e. Borderline (301.83)

Note: DSM codes are shown in parentheses along with equivalent DSM terms in cases where the MIDC departs from standard DSM-IV or DSM-III-R terminology.

construction, administration, scoring, and interpretation of the MIDC is provided in the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria preliminary manual (Immelman, 1993d).³ The 140-item MIDC is congruent with Axis II of the DSM-IV and the normal personality styles in which these disorders are rooted, and taps the five attribute domains characterized by Millon (1990, p. 157) as essentially "noninferential," namely expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, and self-image. Millon (1990) has attested that this "narrower scope of [five directly observable] attributes...[is] sufficient to provide a reasonably comprehensive picture" of a person's major characteristics (p. 160).

The 10 MIDC scales correspond to major personality patterns posited by Millon (e.g., 1994a, 1996). Scales 1 through 8 have three gradations (a, b, c) yielding 24 personality variants, whereas Scales 9 and 0 have two (d, e), yielding four additional variants, for a total of 28 personality designations, or types. The taxonomy is founded on the principle of "syndromal continuity" as defined by Millon and Everly (1985), namely that personality disorders are "exaggerated and pathologically distorted deviations emanating from a normal and healthy distribution of traits" (p. 34). Thus, gradations a and b fall within the "normal" or well-adjusted range of personality functioning, whereas gradations c, d, and e, being in the pathologically disturbed range, encompass the domain of formal personality disorders. Gradation c personality types are mildly dysfunctional, whereas gradations d and e constitute more seriously maladaptive syndromes.⁴ To summarize, the 28-fold classification system allows for the differential identification (diagnosis) of 16 normal personality styles (Scales 1-8, gradations a and b) and 12 pathological variants (Scales 1-8, gradation c; Scales 9-0, gradations d and e).

Consistent with the prototypal domain approach to assessment, the 10 scales represent qualitative categories, whereas the gradations allow for numerical intensity ratings (quantitative distinctions) "to represent the degree of prominence or pervasiveness" of diagnostic (prototypal) features (cf. Millon, 1994b, p. 292). The scores yielded by the MIDC scales possess the properties of distinguishability and rank order, but not of equal intervals or absolute magnitude. In interpreting the profiles it must be borne in mind that the measurement scale is ordinal, intended primarily to classify subjects into a graded sequence of personality classifications or levels (ranging from normal to disturbed) such that (a) subjects at a particular level are relatively alike with respect to the scale in question and (b) subjects at successively higher levels possess progressively more exaggerated or distorted features of the attributes comprising the scale. Table 2 displays the full MIDC taxonomy.

There is strong empirical evidence for the validity and reliability of commercial personality instruments derived from Millon's theory (see, for example, Millon, 1994a). As for the present adaptation of Millon's theory, the correspondence between MIDC-based findings in the present author's work and the findings of other investigators (e.g., Renshon, 1996a) using alternative conceptual frameworks and methods provides suggestive evidence for the convergent validity of the MIDC. In addition, the reliability of the MIDC has been established empirically. For example, in comparing the results of separate studies (Immelman, 1993b, 1994) of the personalities of South African presidents F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, the present author's psychodiagnostic meta-analyses correlated highly (De Klerk, $r_s = .80, p < .01$; Mandela, $r_s = .64, p < .05$) with the mean MIDC scale scores derived from expert ratings by two South African political scientists who had inter-

viewed De Klerk and Mandela and conducted independent research (Geldenhuys & Kotzé, 1991; Kotzé & Geldenhuys, 1990) on these leaders.

Diagnostic Procedure

The diagnostic procedure involved a three-stage process: first, an *analysis* phase (data collection) during which bibliographic materials were reviewed and analyzed to extract diagnostically relevant psychobiographical content; second, a *synthesis* phase (scoring and interpretation) during which the unifying framework provided by the MIDC prototypal features, keyed for attribute domain and personality pattern, was employed to classify the diagnostically relevant information extracted in phase one; and finally, an *evaluation* phase (inference) during which theoretically grounded descriptions, explanations, inferences, and predictions were extrapolated from Millon's theory of personality, based on the personality profile constructed in phase two.

Data Collection

First, the specified sources were scrutinized for diagnostically relevant information pertaining to the personal characteristics of Bill Clinton and Bob Dole. This process entails, in effect, a qualitative content analysis in which each bibliographic source is coded for MIDC prototypal features. It is a task that requires specialized knowledge of Millon's clinical attributes and their diagnostic criteria and is best served—ethically as well as practically—by appropriate clinical training and psychodiagnostic expertise.

Scoring

Next, Bill Clinton and Bob Dole were rated on the MIDC, drawing from the content analysis of the literature.⁵ Following Millon (1986b), each of the 140 MIDC items consists of a defining term and a brief description that elaborates or illustrates each criterion's typical diagnostic indicators. Positively endorsed items (i.e., prototypal features) for Clinton and Dole were recorded on their respective MIDC score sheets and scored according to the strategy explicated in the MIDC preliminary manual. The subjects' scale scores were then plotted on the MIDC profile form (see Figure 1).

Interpretation

After scoring the MIDC, the personality profiles yielded by the inventory were interpreted according to procedures stipulated in the MIDC preliminary manual. The principal interpretive task is to identify the subject's dominant personality patterns and to note the specific gradation (scale elevation, or dimensional prominence) within each of these patterns. This establishes the identity of the primary personality designations relevant to classifying the leader in question. Personality patterns (i.e., scale labels) and gradations (i.e., types) are reported in the format: Pattern/gradation (e.g., Asserting/confident).

Inference

Finally, the political implications of each subject's MIDC profile with respect to presidential performance were explored, drawing primarily on the brief, theoretically grounded narrative descriptions of personality patterns in the Millon Index of Personality Styles manual (Millon, 1994a; also available in Millon, 1996). In addition, to foster greater con-

Table 3
MIDC Diagnostic Criteria
Endorsement Rate by Attribute Domain

<i>Attribute domain</i>	<i>Clinton</i>	<i>Dole</i>
Expressive behavior	6	10
Interpersonal conduct	8	16
Cognitive style	5	6
Mood/temperament	8	8
Self-image	9	11
Sum	36	51
Mean	7.2	10.2
Standard deviation	1.47	3.37

nectivity and synthesis in the emerging field of political personality, an attempt was made to frame the present findings in the conceptual language of alternative approaches to leader assessment.

RESULTS

The analysis of the data includes a summary of descriptive MIDC statistics yielded by the scoring procedure, MIDC profiles for Bill Clinton and Bob Dole, diagnostic classification of the subjects, and the clinical interpretation of significant MIDC scale elevations derived from the diagnostic procedure.

Scoring

Clinton received 36 endorsements (see Appendix A) on the 140-item MIDC, and Dole 51 (see Appendix B). Judging by attribute domain endorsement rates below the mean, the domains of cognitive style and expressive behavior were the most elusive for Clinton, whereas for Dole cognitive style, mood/temperament, and expressive behavior received relatively few endorsements. In the case of cognitive style lower endorsement rates can partially be accounted for by the fact that the identification of this attribute relies substantially on inference, a difficult task when appraising a subject at a distance. Although the same holds true for self-image, the items in this domain more readily lend themselves to inference, particularly where autobiographical material is available, as was the case for Dole. Descriptive statistics for the MIDC ratings obtained by Clinton and Dole are presented in Table 3.

Interpretation

MIDC scale scores for Clinton and Dole are reported in Table 4. The same data are presented graphically in the profiles depicted in Figure 1.

Clinton's Profile

The MIDC profile yielded by the raw scores for Bill Clinton is depicted by solid lines in Figure 1. Clinton's most elevated scale, with a score of 17, was Scale 2 (Asserting), fol-

Table 4
MIDC Scale Scores for Bill Clinton and Bob Dole

Scale	Personality pattern	Clinton		Dole	
		Raw	Ratio	Raw	Ratio
1	Controlling (Active-independent)	7	12.7	21	28.4
2	Asserting (Passive-independent)	17	30.9	12	16.2
3	Outgoing (Active-dependent)	15	27.3	4	5.4
4	Agreeing (Passive-dependent)	5	9.1	2	2.7
5	Complaining (Active-ambivalent)	8	14.5	11	14.9
6	Conforming (Passive-ambivalent)	3	5.5	19	25.7
7	Hesitating (Active-detached)	0	0.0	4	5.4
8	Retiring (Passive-detached)	0	0.0	1	1.4
	Subtotal for basic personality scales	55	100	74	100
9	Distrusting (Independent or Passive-ambivalent)	0	0.0	14	15.1
0	Erratic (Dependent or Active-ambivalent)	9	14.1	5	5.4
	Full-scale total	64	114	93	121

Notes: For the basic Scales 1-8, ratio scores are the raw scores for each scale expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for Scales 1-8 only. For Scales 9 and 0, ratio scores are raw scores expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for all ten MIDC scales (therefore, full-scale ratio totals exceed 100). Scale names in parentheses signify equivalent personality patterns in Millon's (1969) earlier biosocial-learning model.

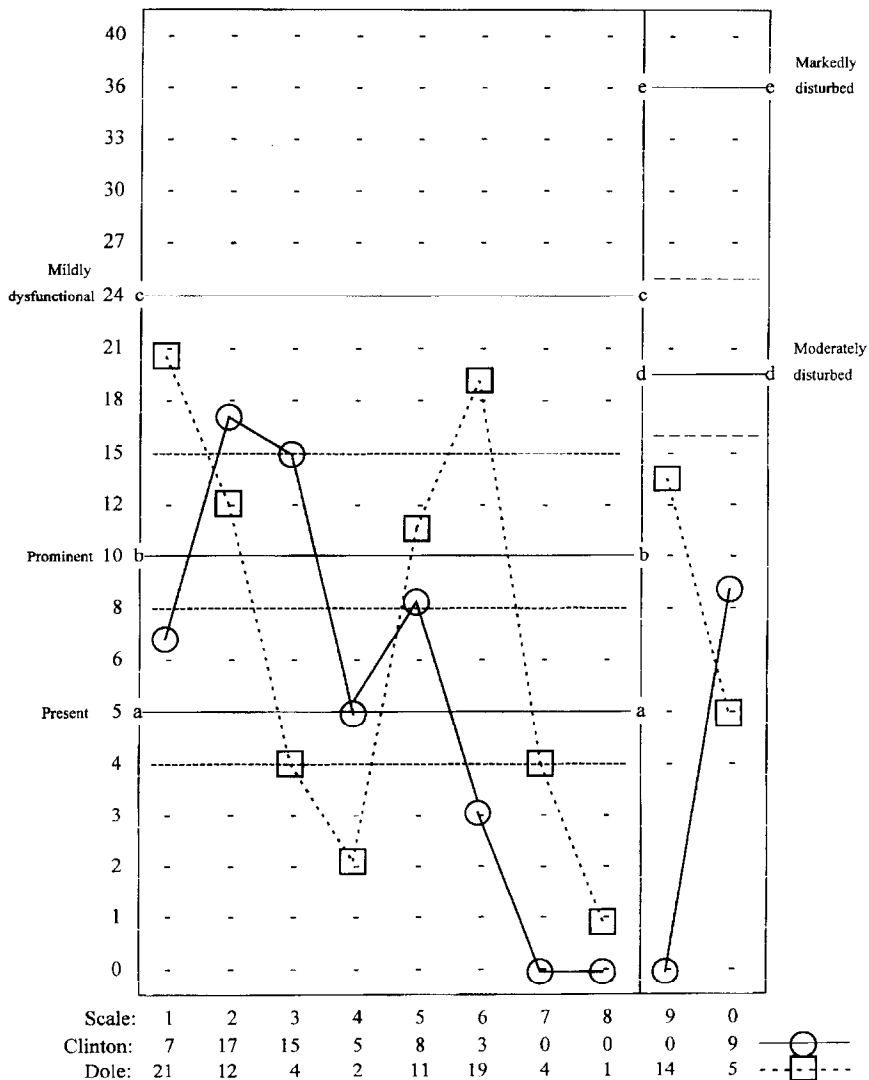
lowed closely by a score of 15 on Scale 3 (Outgoing). Three additional MIDC scales were diagnostically significant: Scale 5 (Complaining), with a score of 8; Scale 1 (Controlling), with a score of 7; and Scale 4 (Agreeing), with a score of 5. (The score of 9 on Scale 0 is not diagnostically critical; the MIDC preliminary manual specifies a clinical significance threshold of 20 for Scales 9 and 0, versus 5 for Scales 1-8.)

In terms of MIDC scale gradation criteria (see Table 2), Bill Clinton was classified as a blend of the Asserting/self-promoting and Outgoing/gregarious personality patterns, with secondary features of the Complaining/discontented, Controlling/forceful, and Agreeing/cooperative types. (In each case the label preceding the slash signifies the basic pattern, whereas the label following the slash indicates the specific scale gradation, or type; see Table 2.)

Based on the cut-off score guidelines provided in the MIDC preliminary manual, Clinton's scale elevations (see Figure 1) were generally within the normal range (*present* or below) of functioning, though Scales 2 (Asserting) and 3 (Outgoing) were moderately elevated, being in the *prominent* range. Scale 2 in particular was of potential clinical relevance in that it approached the *mildly dysfunctional* Asserting/narcissistic range of profile elevation.

Dole's Profile

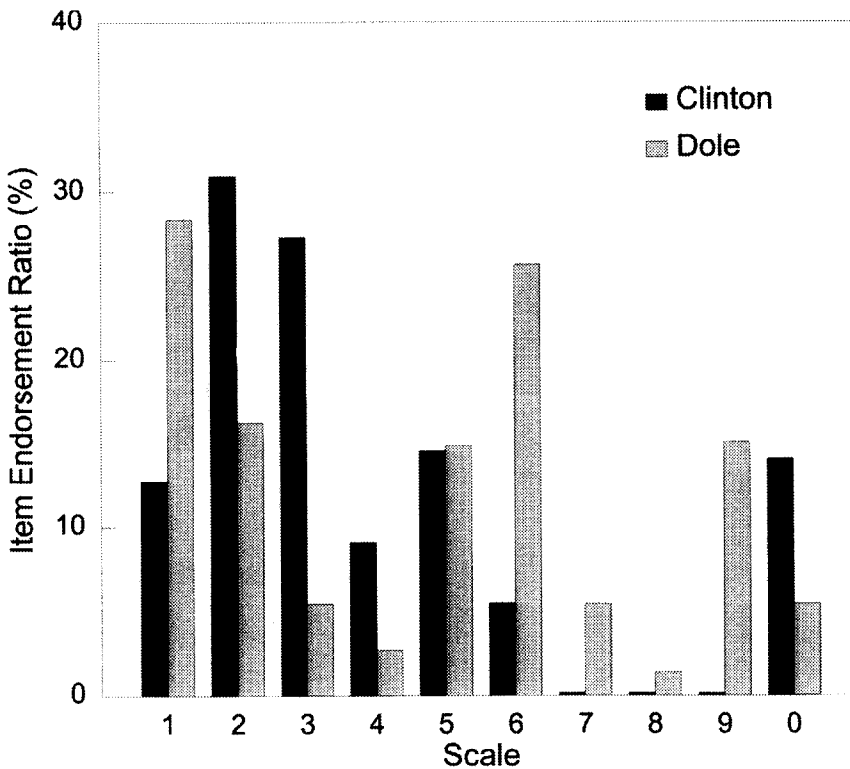
The MIDC profile yielded by the raw scores for Bob Dole is depicted by dashed lines in Figure 1. Dole's most elevated scale, with a score of 21, was Scale 1 (Controlling), followed closely by a score of 19 on Scale 6 (Conforming). Two additional MIDC scales were diagnostically significant: Scale 2 (Asserting) with a score of 12 and Scale 5 (Complaining) with a score of 11. (For the reason stated in the preceding section, the score of 14 on Scale 9 is not diagnostically critical.)



Note: See Table 2 for scale names. Solid horizontal lines on the profile form signify cut-off scores between adjacent scale gradations. For Scales 1-8, scores of 5 through 9 signify the *presence* (gradation a) of the personality pattern in question, scores of 10 through 23 indicate a *prominent* (gradation b) variant, and scores of 24 and higher indicate an exaggerated, *mildly dysfunctional* (gradation c) variation of the pattern. For Scales 9 and 0, scores of 20 through 35 indicate a *moderately disturbed*, and scores of 34 through 45 a *markedly disturbed*, syndrome.

Figure 1
MIDC Profiles for Bill Clinton and Bob Dole

In terms of MIDC scale gradation criteria (see Table 2), Bob Dole was classified as a blend of the Controlling/dominant and Conforming/dutiful personality patterns, with sec-



Note: See Table 2 for scale names.

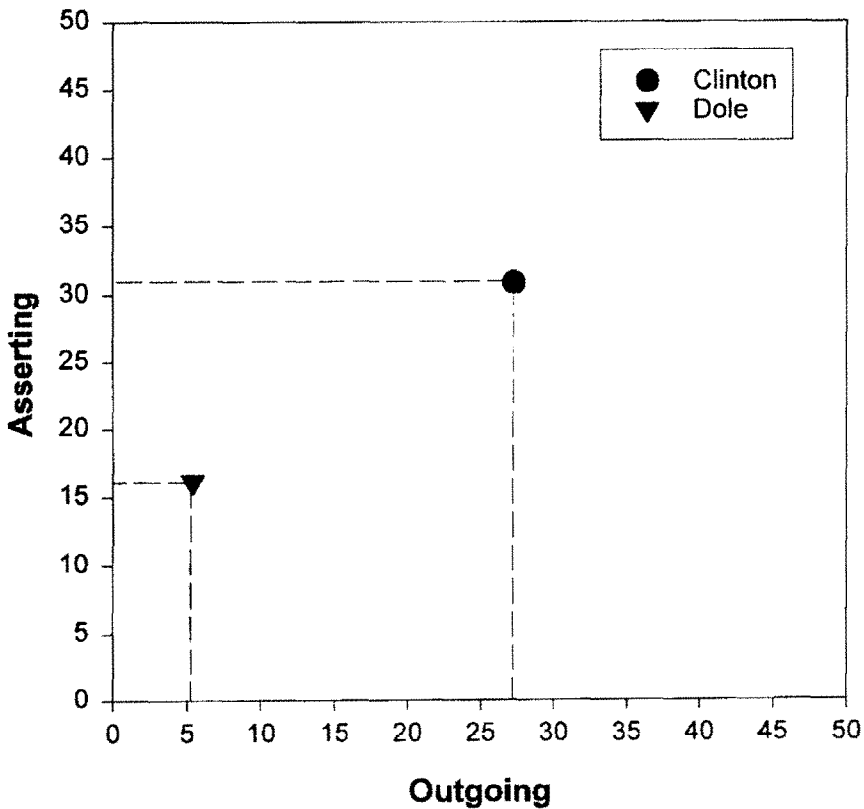
Figure 2
Comparative MIDC scale elevations for Bill Clinton and Bob Dole

ondary features of the Asserting/self-promoting and Complaining/negativistic types. (In each case the label preceding the slash signifies the basic pattern, whereas the label following the slash indicates the specific scale gradation, or type; see Table 2.)

Based on the cut-off score guidelines provided in the MIDC preliminary manual, Dole's scale elevations (see Figure 1) were generally within the normal range (*present* or below) of functioning, though Scales 1 (Controlling) and 6 (Conforming) were moderately elevated, being in the *prominent* range. These two scales were of potential clinical relevance in that they approached the *mildly dysfunctional* Controlling/aggressive and Conforming/compulsive ranges of profile elevation.

Comparative Scale Elevations for Clinton and Dole

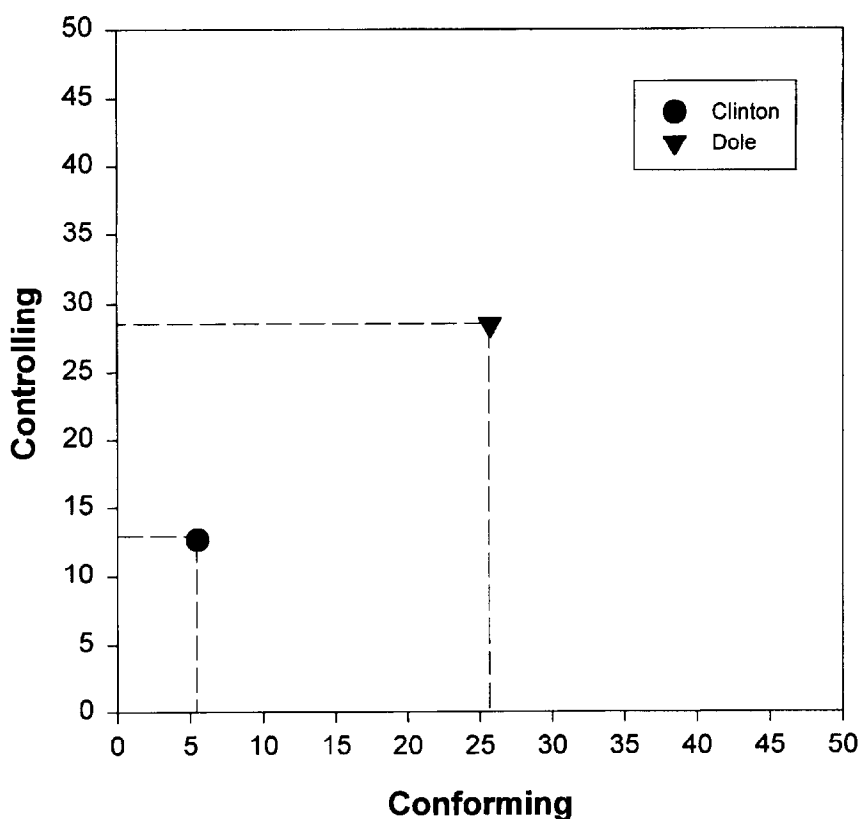
A direct comparison of Clinton's and Dole's MIDC profiles is complicated by the fact that more MIDC items were endorsed for Dole (51) than for Clinton (36), contributing to higher scale elevations for Dole (full-scale raw score = 93) than for Clinton (full-scale raw score = 64). Ordinarily, ratio transformations would represent a satisfac-



Note: Ratio scores are used to permit direct comparison, between subjects, of within-subject variation in MIDC scale elevations.

Figure 3
Comparative location of Bill Clinton and Bob Dole in
two-dimensional space defined by Clinton's primary MIDC elevations

tory solution to this problem, but in the present case the situation is complicated by the psychometric qualities of the scoring system; as stated earlier, the MIDC scales were constructed to possess the properties of distinguishability and rank order, but not those of equal intervals or absolute magnitude (see Immelman, 1993d). To prevent inordinate profile distortion, the scores for Scales 1-8 were thus expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for the first eight scales only, whereas for Scales 9 and 0, scores were expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for all ten MIDC scales. The rational basis for this strategy is that Scales 1-8 are psychometrically independent, whereas Scales 9 and 0 patterns are conceptually and psychometrically superimposed on Scale 1-8 patterns (Scale 9 being linked to Scales 1, 2, and 6; Scale 0 to Scales 3, 4, and 5).



Note: Ratio scores are used to permit direct comparison, between subjects, of within-subject variation in MIDC scale elevations.

Figure 4
Comparative location of Bob Dole and Bill Clinton in two-dimensional space defined by Dole's primary MIDC elevations

Comparative scale elevations for Clinton and Dole are displayed as a bar graph in Figure 2. The bidimensional framework yielded by plotting the ratio scores for the two highest scale elevations for each subject, depicted in Figures 3 and 4, provides an alternative perspective to the one depicted in Figure 2. Caution should be exercised in interpreting Figures 2-4; although ratio scores serve as a useful index of the differences between Clinton and Dole with respect to the within-subject distribution of scale elevations, Figure 1 contains the appropriate data for discerning absolute (observed) differences in their personality profiles.

DISCUSSION

The 1996 U.S. presidential election offered voters a clear choice between two men with distinctive personal styles, as shown in the following evaluation of the profiles of President Clinton and Senator Dole.

Bill Clinton

The Asserting Pattern

With his considerably elevated Scale 2, Clinton emerged from the assessment as a predominantly self-promoting type, an adaptive, somewhat exaggerated variant of the Asserting pattern. Millon (1994a)⁶ has summarized the Asserting pattern as follows:

An interpersonal boldness, stemming from a belief in themselves and their talents, characterize[s] those high on the...Asserting scale. Competitive, ambitious, and self-assured, they naturally assume positions of leadership, act in a decisive and unwavering manner, and expect others to recognize their special qualities and cater to them. Beyond being self-confident, those with an Asserting profile often are audacious, clever, and persuasive, having sufficient charm to win others over to their own causes and purposes. Problematic in this regard may be their lack of social reciprocity and their sense of entitlement—their assumption that what they wish for is their due. On the other hand, their ambitions often succeed, and they typically prove to be effective leaders. (p. 32)

Millon's description is generally consistent with the clinical impression of Bill Clinton acquired from the survey of the literature (see, for example, Oakley, 1994, pp. xii-xiii), except for the statement that Asserting individuals "act in a decisive and unwavering manner," and possibly also the contention that "they typically prove to be effective leaders." An examination of the second-rank elevation in Clinton's MIDC profile, to be examined in the discussion of Clinton's Outgoing pattern, offers a possible explanation for this inconsistency.

Concerning the political relevance of the Asserting pattern, a moderate Scale 2 elevation concurrent with elevations in the normal range on Scale 1 (Controlling), Scale 3 (Outgoing), and Scale 4 (Agreeing), as in the case of Clinton, suggests a personality configuration resembling Barber's (1992) active-positive character. Barber has advanced the notion that active-positive leaders possess "personal strengths specially attuned to the Presidency" (p. 267). In its extreme form, however, the Asserting pattern incorporates aspects of the severely disturbed personality disorder that Kernberg (1984) has called "malignant narcissism." Clinton's scale elevation, though quite high, does not seem critical in this regard. Moreover, his Scale 1 (Controlling) score is not sufficiently elevated, and his "other-directed" (i.e., suggesting high interpersonal) Scale 3 (Outgoing) and Scale 4 (Agreeing) scores are too high to support the presence of malignantly narcissistic tendencies. Of much greater political relevance in the case of Clinton are the high levels of self-confidence and resourcefulness associated with the Asserting pattern.

The Outgoing Pattern

Clinton's second-rank elevation on Scale 3 follows closely behind his elevation on Scale 2, suggesting the presence of coexisting gregarious (Scale 3) and self-promoting (Scale 2) orientations. The gregarious personality is an adaptive, slightly exaggerated variant of the Outgoing pattern. Millon (1994a) has summarized this pattern as follows:

At the most extreme levels [not true for Clinton] of the Outgoing pole are persons characterized by features similar to the DSM's histrionic personality. At less extreme levels [consistent with Clinton's profile], gregarious persons go out of their way to be popular with others, have confidence in their social abilities, feel they can readily influence and

charm others, and possess a personal style that makes people like them. Most enjoy engaging in social activities, and like meeting new people and learning about their lives. Talkative, lively, socially clever, they are often dramatic attention-getters who thrive on being the center of social events. Many become easily bored, especially when faced with repetitive and mundane tasks. Often characterized by intense and shifting moods, gregarious types are sometimes viewed as fickle and excitable. On the other hand, their enthusiasms often prove effective in energizing and motivating others. Inclined to be facile and enterprising, outgoing people may be highly skilled at manipulating others to meet their needs. (pp. 31–32)

Millon's description provides the theoretical underpinnings for what Drew (1994) has referred to as "a very personal presidency" (p. 15). Concerning the interplay between these Outgoing features and Clinton's Asserting features, more commonly associated with political leadership, individuals inclined to "go out of their way to be popular with others," with an inclination to be "fickle and excitable" (Outgoing traits), would clearly be less likely to "act in a decisive and unwavering manner" (Asserting trait). Similarly, leadership ability may be impaired in individuals who "become easily bored, especially when faced with repetitive and mundane tasks," and who are prone to "intense and shifting moods" (Outgoing traits). These shortcomings must, however, be weighed against the high degree of skill with which these individuals are able to engage their Outgoing talents of "energizing and motivating others."

It bears note that Clinton's Outgoing tendencies may attenuate some Asserting traits (e.g., decisiveness and leadership effectiveness) highlighted in the discussion of his Asserting pattern. Furthermore, exaggerated Outgoing personality features, particularly in combination with a high score on Scale 2 (Asserting) and a low score on Scale 6 (Conforming), as with Clinton, may render a leader susceptible to scandal by contributing to "neglect of the role demands of political office, low resistance to corrupting influences, and impulsiveness....[as well as] favoring loyalty and friendship over competence-for-the-position in making appointments to high-level public office" (Immelman, 1993a, p. 736).

In combination with Scale 4 (Agreeing), Scale 3 resembles Barber's (1992) passive-positive character—the "receptive, compliant, other-directed" leader whose "dependence" may lead to "disappointments in politics" (p. 10). Clinton apparently possesses some of these traits; however their effects are offset by more significant elevations on Scale 1 (Controlling) and Scale 2 (Asserting) than on the Agreeing scale.

The Asserting-Outgoing Mixed Pattern

According to Millon (1981), it has been empirically established that there is "a common association" between histrionic and the narcissistic personality features (p. 146). On rational and intuitive grounds one would expect this relationship to hold true throughout the Outgoing and Asserting continua, whose maladaptive extremes are represented by, respectively, the histrionic and narcissistic syndromes (see Table 2). Based on Millon's (1981, pp. 146–147) description of the histrionic-narcissistic mixed personality it is possible to construct the following Asserting-Outgoing composite for individuals in the subclinical range of profile elevation:

Persons who score high on both the Asserting and Outgoing scales are clever and charming; they are skilled at attracting and seducing others. Though highly ambitious, Asserting-Outgoing individuals also tend to be undisciplined, traveling an erratic course of

successes, failures, and abandoned hopes. Needing excitement, stimulation, and challenge, they are easily bored by routine activities; at extreme levels they may act impulsively. They display a tendency to be overly but transiently attached to one thing or person after another, exhibiting a restless, "driven" quality which may be accompanied by a deficit in social dependability. Because agreements are often hastily assumed, they may have trouble honoring their promises or meeting their obligations. Ultimately, they are more attuned to their own needs than to those of others.

This vignette provides an integrated description to account for Clinton's concurrent Asserting and Outgoing personality traits, thus offering a more reliable basis for inference and prediction.

Bob Dole

The Controlling Pattern

With his highly elevated Scale 1, Dole emerged from the assessment as primarily a dominant type, an adaptive, somewhat exaggerated variant of the Controlling pattern. According to Millon (1994a), Controlling individuals

enjoy the power to direct...others, and to evoke obedience and respect from them. They tend to be tough and unsentimental....Although many sublimate their power-oriented tendencies in publicly approved roles and vocations, these inclinations become evident in occasional intransigence, stubbornness, and coercive behaviors. Despite these periodic negative expressions, controlling types typically make effective leaders, being talented in supervising and persuading others to work for the achievement of common goals. (p. 34)

Millon's description is generally consistent with the clinical impression of Bob Dole gained from the literature, where Dole was portrayed as a hardnosed political power broker who enjoys taking charge (see, for example, Thompson, 1996, pp. 2-4). There is ample evidence that a career in politics provided an outlet for his power-oriented and aggressive tendencies, publicly displayed in numerous political campaigns and implicit in the nature of his service to Republican presidents. Hilton (1995) for example—though excessively harsh in his judgment—characterized Dole as "Nixon's Doberman pinscher," "hatchet man" for Gerald Ford during the 1976 presidential campaign, and "spear-carrier" for George Bush in the Senate.

Similarly, the Controlling intransigence of Dole, whom Hilton (1995) called the "dark prince of Washington gridlock," has periodically been evident in Dole's actions as Senate minority and majority leader—for example, his unrelenting efforts to scuttle Clinton's health care plan, his toughness during budget negotiations, and his frequent use of the filibuster in the Senate. It must be noted, however, that these political actions are consistent with Dole's legislative role as a Republican leader in the context of a Democratic administration. This does not, of course, negate the fact that, had Dole been elected president, he would have possessed similar potential for intransigence, obstinacy, and a willingness to employ contentious influence strategies to achieve his goals—particularly if his election had coincided with a Democratic takeover of the legislature or if his policies had failed to win public approval.

As stated earlier, Scale 1 and Scale 2 (Asserting) jointly incorporate features of Barber's (1992) active-positive type. Dole scored high on both; however, this trend is tempered by

his high score on Scale 6 (Conforming) and his significant loading on Scale 5 (Complaining). The volatile mix of a high need for power, strong drive and energy, and ambition (Scales 1 and 2) with negativity, pessimism, and compulsiveness (Scales 5 and 6) seems to capture the essence of Barber's active-negative orientation. These leaders, as depicted by Barber, have "a persistent problem" managing their aggressive impulses, "a perfectionistic conscience," experience "life...[as] a hard struggle to achieve and hold power," and are generally failures as presidents (p. 9). In this regard the closing paragraph of Thompson's *Bob Dole* (1996) has a prophetic ring. It reads, in part:

The achievement of Dole's life...is not...that he simply rose from humble origins and endured the vicissitudes of politics for more than thirty years, positioning himself as the ultimate Washington power broker. It is that even though nothing has ever come easy for him...he has relentlessly forged ahead, always, as he said in 1995, "in hot pursuit of something." (p. 265)

The Conforming Pattern

Dole's second-rank elevation on Scale 6 follows closely behind his elevation on Scale 1, suggesting the presence of coexisting dutiful (Scale 6) and dominant (Scale 1) orientations. The dutiful personality is an adaptive, slightly exaggerated variant of the Conforming pattern. According to Millon (1994a), Conforming individuals possess

traits not unlike Leary's responsible-hypernormal personality, with its ideal of proper, conventional, orderly, and perfectionistic behavior, as well as bearing a similarity to Factor III of the Big-Five, termed Conscientiousness. Conformers are notably respectful of tradition and authority, and act in a reasonable, proper, and conscientious way. They do their best to uphold conventional rules and standards, following given regulations closely, and tend to be judgmental of those who do not. Well-organized and reliable, prudent and restrained, they may appear to be overly self-controlled, formal and inflexible in their relationships, intolerant of deviance, and unbending in their adherence to social proprieties. Diligent about their responsibilities, they dislike having their work pile up, worry about finishing things, and come across to others as highly dependable and industrious. (p. 33)

Millon's synopsis of the Conforming pattern is consistent with the image of Dole portrayed in the literature (e.g., Cramer, 1995, pp. 106, 123, 129, 137), with the exception of organization and restraint. Thus, Hilton (1995) has referred unflatteringly to "Dictator Dole and a Senate of organized chaos" and to "Dunkirk Dole, the disorganization man." Similarly, Cramer (1995), with reference to Dole's 1976 vice-presidential campaign, wrote, "True to form, Dole's staff did whatever it wanted—except for the ones he trusted, who did whatever he asked" (p. 150). And, concerning Dole's 1980 presidential campaign: "He had no organization—he ran everything himself, from his plane" (p. xv). Dole has also been known to exhibit a lack of restraint, epitomized by his infamous "Democrat wars" statement in the 1976 vice-presidential debate with Walter Mondale and his rash "Stop lying about my record" remark after his 1988 New Hampshire primary loss to George Bush. These anomalies should be understood against the background of Dole's primary elevation on Scale 1 (Controlling), and other features of Dole's personality (discussed below) which modulate the expression of his Conforming tendencies.

It is, however, precisely these Conforming tendencies that serve to attenuate the more negative aggressive and sadistic expressions of Dole's Controlling pattern. From a psycho-

dynamic perspective, the most interesting example in the case of Dole is perhaps the way in which sadistic impulses are sublimated as cutting humor, which—besides being sanctioned by society—serves a useful, adaptive function in the bipartisan, adversarial context of the American political system. Ultimately, however, the preponderance of Conforming features in Dole's profile suggests that, had he succeeded in his bid for the presidency, he would likely not have been a highly imaginative, visionary president nor a transformational (Burns, 1978) leader. The notable exception to this reluctance for change might have been a willingness to work for a return to traditional values, particularly if mandated by the Republican majority in Congress (whom Dole would have served out of loyalty, another Conforming trait). In terms of Millon's model of personality one would expect a Conforming president to exercise responsible—if uninspiring—leadership, to be diligent in discharging his duties, and to bring a certain decorum to the White House. Finally, it must be noted that the concurrent secondary elevation on Scale 5 (Complaining) provides a descriptive if not explanatory framework for Dole's notorious hesitancy, indecisiveness, and ambivalence (see, for example, Woodward, 1996, pp. 65–68).

The Asserting Pattern

A strong secondary elevation in Dole's MIDC profile occurred on Scale 2. Prevailing traits of the Asserting pattern have already been discussed in the section on Clinton. These characteristics also pertain to Dole, though to a lesser degree, given the more modest elevation of Scale 2 in Dole's overall personality configuration.

A finding of greater import is Dole's moderate loading on Scale 2 *in combination with* his very prominent Scale 1 (Controlling) elevation. A noteworthy political implication here is a proclivity for playing "hardball politics." Practitioners of hardball politics have a "public veneer of...idealistic concern" (Etheredge, 1979), but are, in fact, "cynically calculating, ambitious promoters of themselves" who are narcissistic and Machiavellian (Stone & Schaffner, 1988, p. 156). On a more optimistic note, however, these tendencies are probably modified by Dole's conventionality and conscientiousness, as reflected in his more prominent Scale 6 (Conforming) features.

The Complaining Pattern

The secondary elevation on Scale 5 in Dole's profile was quite pronounced. Millon (1994a) has described the Complaining pattern as follows:

Those scoring high on the Complaining scale often assert that they have been treated unfairly, that little of what they have done has been appreciated, and that they have been blamed for things that they did not do. Opportunities seem not to have worked out well for them and they "know" that good things don't last. Often resentful of what they see as unfair demands placed on them, they may be disinclined to carry out responsibilities as well as they could....When matters go well, they can be productive and constructively independent-minded, willing to speak out to remedy troublesome issues. (p. 34)

Dole's life in many ways has been a struggle, not the least of which was his near-fatal wounding in World War II, the long, difficult process of recovery, and his unsuccessful vice-presidential and presidential campaigns of 1976, 1980, 1988, and 1996. Several MIDC items keyed to Scale 5 reflect these disappointments and frustrations. Possibly then, the Complaining features in Dole's profile reflect situational factors rather than

deep-seated, enduring personality traits, akin to what Allport (1937) called "secondary traits" (p. 338).

Nonetheless, as noted earlier, Dole's indecisive and ambivalent tendencies may be traced to his concurrent Scale 5 and Scale 6 (Conforming) elevations. More specific to Scale 5 is a predisposition to negativistic, passive-aggressive, or self-defeating behaviors such as procrastination, resentment, irritability, obstructionism, a tendency to externalize blame, and of course the trademark acerbic humor. Some of these traits, it seems, though not central features of Dole's personality, are particularly prominent in public stereotypes of Dole. The literature suggests, however, that Dole's Complaining tendencies are most prominently displayed in the form of ambivalence and indirectness; beyond his sometimes barbed humor, these tendencies are evident both in Dole's professional relations and in his family relations (see Cramer, 1995, pp. 114–116, 120–121). With reference to the latter, for instance, Cramer (1995) wrote, "[Bob Dole] never fired anybody!" (p. 127).

Finally, reference has already been made (in the discussion of Dole's Controlling traits) to the potential contribution of Scale 5 characteristics in combination with loadings on Scales 1, 2, and 6, to active-negative leadership. In this regard, had Dole been elected, a precipitating factor might have been the (unlikely) presence of a Democratic versus a Republican majority in Congress.

Bill Clinton and Bob Dole: A Comparison of Political Risks

Simonton has written extensively on historical greatness in general (e.g., 1994) and presidential success in particular (e.g., 1987). Barber (1992), focusing more narrowly on the personal qualities of leaders, developed a simple 2×2 model which has shown some utility in predicting successful (active-positive) and failed (active-negative) presidencies. Unlike Barber's model the present approach does not lend itself to predicting leadership success or failure on the basis of categorical distinctions. In Millon's system, each personality pattern has its particular strengths and limitations, as shown earlier in the inferences deduced from the MIDC profiles of Bill Clinton and Bob Dole. Because it is informed by the principle of syndromal continuity, the present approach is especially useful for identifying risk factors associated with specific personality styles. Thus, I will briefly examine some potential political risks suggested by the personality profiles generated in the present assessment of Clinton and Dole.

A "worst-case" prediction for President Clinton, in view of significant Asserting characteristics in his personality profile, is that he may commit errors of judgment stemming from a combination of strong ambition, a sense of entitlement, and inflated self-confidence. Asserting characteristics may also predispose him to dissemble or equivocate, not only ego-defensively to protect and bolster an admirable self-image, but instrumentally to have his way with others. Concurrent Outgoing features in President Clinton's MIDC profile suggest a strong need for social recognition, approval, and validation, along with a willingness to use his social skills to influence and charm others (though lacking some fidelity in consistently fulfilling his promises). Outgoing traits are further associated with scattered attention to detail, boredom with routine activities, intense but short-lived moods, and avoidance of introspection—all of which may potentially interfere with effective leadership. Finally, there is a danger that Outgoing presidents such as Bill Clinton may be oversensitive to public opinion and neglectful of role demands relating to oversight. In

Choiniere and Keirse's (1992) scheme of presidential temperament, anchored to the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (Myers, 1962), the task of "guarding protocol and morality against violation" and "physical resources against improper and unwarranted use" (p. 164) is the province of "Monitor Guardians" such as Dole, not the "Engineer Rational" or "Player Artisan" types personified in hybrid form (as inferred from his MIDC profile) by Clinton.

Turning to Dole, the "worst-case" prediction is that, by virtue of the significant Controlling component in his personality profile, a President Dole would have carried the risk of asserting his power and dominance at the expense of openness to information, sensitivity to the social environment, and meeting the needs of others. Prominent Conforming features furthermore suggest that a President Dole may have been dogmatic and resistant to new ideas, unsuccessful in delegating authority, and vulnerable in crises, where indecision is potentially fatal.

As stated earlier, Scale 1 (Controlling) and Scale 2 (Asserting) of the MIDC jointly incorporate features of Barber's (1992) active-positive presidential type. The relatively high scores of both Clinton and Dole on Scales 1 and 2 provide suggestive evidence that both are inclined to active-positive leadership. However, their MIDC profiles also indicate that both have some active-negative potential. This predisposition is, however, weaker for Clinton, given his low elevation on Scale 5 (Complaining) relative to Dole, and substantial loadings on Scale 3 (Outgoing) and Scale 4 (Agreeing)—negligible in the case of Dole—which jointly serve as indicators of "other-directedness," or interpersonal

In 1972, President Nixon was reelected by a landslide in the looming shadow of Watergate. It is tempting to look for parallels a quarter-century later in the wake of the 1996 election as President Clinton denies wrongdoing amid allegations of shady land deals, sexual harassment, the misuse of FBI files by White House staff, and illegal fund-raising practices. The present assessment suggests, however, that in psychological terms Bill Clinton is far removed from a Richard Nixon. Should wrongdoing on the part of Clinton ultimately be proven, his underlying motives—which the present assessment suggests to be free of paranoid ideation—hypothetically would be vastly different from those that scuttled the political career of Nixon.

Implications of the Study

Based both on a broad assumption of the value of the connectivity principle in science and a belief in the specific benefits of synthesis in the study of political personality as a growing field of scientific inquiry, it may be instructive to search for commonalities among the present findings and similar political-psychological studies using alternative conceptual frameworks and methodologies. In this regard Clinton's profile most closely resembles what Etheredge (1978) has called the "low-dominance extravert," or "conciliator." According to Etheredge, conciliators such as Presidents Truman and Eisenhower "are not inclined to reshape the world in accordance with a grand vision"; though humane and open to change they may lack the consistency and will to consummate their policy initiatives (p. 450). Dole, in turn, obtained a profile most similar to Etheredge's "high-dominance introvert," or "bloc" leader. Bloc (excluding) leaders, like Presidents Wilson and Hoover, "seek to reshape the world in accordance with

their personal vision, and their foreign policies are often characterized by the tenaciousness with which they advance one central idea" (p. 449).

A more sophisticated descriptive framework is provided by Simonton's (1988) five empirically derived presidential styles (interpersonal, charismatic, deliberative, creative, and neurotic). Given the fidelity with which they mirror the currently popular five-factor model, Simonton's stylistic dimensions offer a comparative frame of reference that may have considerable heuristic value in future studies of political personality. From Simonton's perspective, Clinton's MIDC elevations on the Asserting and Outgoing scales imply a "charismatic" leadership style, which conceptually corresponds to the "Big Five" Extraversion factor. According to Simonton (1988), the charismatic leader

typically "finds dealing with the press challenging and enjoyable"...[Outgoing], "enjoys the ceremonial aspects of the office"...[Outgoing], "is charismatic"...[Asserting], "consciously refines his own public image"...[Outgoing], "has a flair for the dramatic"...[Outgoing], "conveys [a] clear-cut, highly visible personality"...[Outgoing], is a "skilled and self-confident negotiator"...[Asserting], "uses rhetoric effectively"...[Asserting], is a "dynamo of energy and determination"...[Asserting], is "characterized by others as a world figure"...[Asserting], "keeps in contact with the American public and its moods"...[Outgoing], "has [the] ability to maintain popularity"...[Outgoing], "exhibits artistry in manipulation"...[Asserting], and "views the presidency as a vehicle for self-expression"...[Outgoing], but rarely "is shy, awkward in public" [i.e., Outgoing rather than Retiring or Hesitating]. (p. 931; associated Millon patterns added)

In addition, the charismatic president "rarely permits himself to be outflanked" [Asserting], "is innovative in his role as an executive" [Asserting], "initiates new legislation and programs" [Asserting], tends not to be "cautious, conservative in action" [i.e., Outgoing rather than Hesitating or Conforming], and rarely "suffers health problems that tend to parallel difficult and critical periods in office" (pp. 930, 931; associated Millon patterns added).

The conceptual transposition of Dole's profile poses a greater challenge. His MIDC Controlling pattern points to the low pole of several traits comprising Simonton's (1988) "interpersonal" style, whereas his Conforming pattern suggests a "deliberative" style. Simonton's interpersonality dimension strongly resembles the "Big Five" Agreeableness factor (corresponding to Millon's Agreeing pattern), whereas his deliberativeness dimension (corresponding to Millon's Conforming pattern) is conceptually equivalent to the "Big Five" Conscientiousness factor.

These clinical impressions are partially supported by a recent study conducted by Rubenzer, Faschingbauer, and Ones (1996), who found Clinton, *relative to other U.S. presidents*, to be very high on Extraversion, surpassed only by the two Roosevelts. Dole, in what Rubenzer and his associates concede to be a "tentative" assessment, was rated very high (surpassed only by first-ranked Nixon) on Neuroticism and low (only nine presidents ranked lower) on Agreeableness, *relative to the 41 U.S. presidents*. The present study, however, provides only minimal evidence of neuroticism in Dole's MIDC profile, which instead points to dominance and conscientiousness as representing Dole's more central personality dimensions.

Finally, a dimensional reconceptualization of the present findings from a five-factor point of view, informed by correlations among Millon Index of Personality Styles (MIPS; Millon, 1994a, see pp. 81–82) scales and the five NEO Personality Inventory

(Costa & McCrae, 1985) factors, suggests that Clinton is considerably more extraverted than Dole, less neurotic, more open to experience, more agreeable, and slightly less conscientious. From the perspective of the present study, however, a difficulty with the five-factor model is that its Extraversion factor is too broad for fine-grained distinctions among politicians; two of Millon's five "interpersonal-behaviors bipolarities" (see Millon, 1994a, pp. 27–28), namely Outgoing-Retiring and Asserting-Hesitating, are highly correlated with Extraversion, while a third, Controlling-Yielding, is substantially correlated (see Millon, 1994a, p. 82).

CONCLUSION

A crucial requirement for the assessment of political personality is the employment of a coherent psychodiagnostic framework to integrate, organize, and systematize personological knowledge from a broad range of sources encompassing divergent perspectives. A methodology that matches this criterion has heuristic value for (a) *inferring* that which is not readily apparent when observing political leaders at a distance and (b) *predicting* future political behavior, based on established knowledge concerning temporally stable and cross-situationally consistent predispositions associated with specific personality patterns. As Millon (1994b) contended, "It is this capacity to suggest characteristics beyond those immediately observed that adds special value to an established system of types," in contrast to "the tendency of dimensional schemata to fractionate personality into separate and uncoordinated traits" (p. 290).

Millon's (1994b) position is that the benefit of a latent theoretical taxonomy (e.g., his prototypal domain model) over a latent mathematical taxonomy (e.g., the five-factor model) is "its success in grouping its elements according to logically consonant explanatory propositions" (p. 297). According to Millon (1994b) such a "theoretically grounded configuration of relationships" (versus "one that provides a mere explanatory summary of known observations and inferences") is "the foundation and essence of a heuristic taxonomy" (p. 297). This kind of approach "enlarges the sensitivity and scope of knowledge of observers by alerting them to previously unnoticed relationships among attributes and then guides these new observations into a theoretically coherent body of knowledge" (p. 297). The crux of the matter for Millon is that a theoretically grounded taxonomy has the "power to generate observations and relationships other than those used to construct it" (p. 297). He cautions, however, that "theory should not be 'pushed' far beyond the data, and its derivations should be linked at all points to established clinical observations" (p. 298).

One reason that Millon's model lends itself so well to prediction is its congruity with the notion of syndromal continuity, that is, that personality disorders are simply "exaggerated and pathologically distorted deviations emanating from a normal and healthy distribution of traits" (Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 34; cf. Millon, 1996, pp. 31–33). Syndromal continuity is especially useful with respect to the study of political personality in that it enables political observers to anticipate the effects of persistent or severe situational stressors that may precipitate a breakdown in the integrity of the personality system (Immelman, 1993a, pp. 734–735). Granted, the act of reducing complex persons to personality types conceals much individual uniqueness and diversity, but this may ultimately be a nomothetic necessity in the quest for stable and meaningful comparisons among politicians across time and situation.

Adequate description, explanation, and prediction of political behavior in high-level public office demands an accurate grasp of contextual and role-related variables that may modify the expression of the officeholder's personality. The *political* relevance of conceptual frameworks such as Millon's—focusing as they do primarily on dispositional determinants of behavior—is limited by their *psychological* emphasis. Knowledge of political structures and political decision-making procedures in specific political contexts is crucial for inferring the role of the personal characteristics of political leaders in political decision making, or for predicting specific political acts under various contingencies.

In view of these considerations the optimistic conclusion to the present study is that Bill Clinton will continue to bring to the presidency his driving ambition, supreme sense of self-confidence, and a personal charisma with the power to inspire. This resolution must be tempered, however, with the sobering caveat that in the Asserting character the seeds of its own undoing germinate abundantly in the brilliance of its blinding ambition.

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APPENDIX A

MIDC⁷ Endorsements: Bill Clinton

Attribute A: Expressive behavior

- A1a *Adventurous*: assertive; attracted to challenge
- A1b *Fearless*: daring; willing to take risks
- A2a *Poised*: dignified and self-assured
- A3a *Animated*: friendly and outgoing; extraverted
- A5c *Stubborn*: erratic, prone to moodiness; obstinate, resentful, or argumentative; complains of being misunderstood or unappreciated
- A0e *Chaotic*: displays sudden, unexpected, and impulsive outbursts; arbitrary

Attribute B: Interpersonal conduct

- B1a *Commanding*: powerful, commands respect
- B2a *Tough*: hardnosed and shrewd; utilitarian
- B2c *Machiavellian*: uses and manipulates others to achieve personal goals, enhance self, or indulge desires
- B3a *Demonstrative*: displays feelings openly; amiable
- B3b *Flirtatious*: actively solicits reassurance or approval
- B3c *Seductive*: manipulates others to solicit praise or attention; exhibitionistic
- B4a *Compliant*: conciliatory and placating
- B5b *Ambivalent*: assumes conflicting and changing roles; unpredictable

Attribute C: Cognitive style

- C2a *Imaginative*: exhibits creativity in formulating ideas; resourceful
- C2b *Expansive*: minimally constrained by objective reality; may take liberty with facts
- C3b *Superficial*: avoids introspective thought; flighty
- C4a *Open*: receptive to new information; open to suggestion
- C5b *Inconsistent*: experiences dissonant thoughts and emotions toward self and others; exhibits divergent attitudes

Attribute D: Mood/Temperament

- D2a *Unruffled*: serene; typically cool, calm, collected, and optimistic
- D2b *Insouciant*: calculated coolness, not easily ruffled; manifests general air of nonchalance and imperturbability, except when confidence is shaken, at which time either anger, shame, or emptiness is briefly displayed
- D2c *Exuberant*: buoyantly optimistic and coolly unimpressible, to the point of appearing self-satisfied, smug, and complacent; displays considerable anger, even rage, when obstructed or crossed
- D3a *Expressive*: uninhibited; does not restrain emotional expression
- D3b *Fickle*: reactive; frequently displays short-lived and superficial emotions
- D4a *Tender*: sensitive to emotions and others' feelings; warm-hearted and gentle
- D4b *Pacific*: characteristically warm, tender, and uncompetitive; intolerant of social tension or conflict
- D0d *Temperamental*: excitable and moody; rapid, unstable shifts in mood

Attribute E: Self-image

- E1a *Assertive*: strong and upstanding
- E1b *Competitive*: powerful, energetic, realistically hardheaded
- E2a *Confident*: self-assured
- E2b *Admirable*: high self-worth, despite being seen by others as egotistic, inconsiderate, or arrogant
- E3a *Charming*: views self as socially desirable or attractive
- E3b *Sociable*: views self as stimulating and gregarious
- E5a *Unappreciated*: views own aptitudes and competencies as being unrecognized or undervalued
- E6a *Reliable*: views self as industrious and efficient
- E6b *Conscientious*: views self as meticulous in fulfilling obligations

APPENDIX B**MIDC⁸ Endorsements: Bob Dole****Attribute A: Expressive behavior**

- A1a *Adventurous*: assertive; attracted to challenge
- A1b *Fearless*: daring; willing to take risks
- A2a *Poised*: dignified and self-assured
- A3a *Animated*: friendly and outgoing; extraverted
- A5a *Humble*: modest, unpretentious, self-deprecating
- A5c *Stubborn*: erratic, prone to moodiness; obstinate, resentful, or argumentative; complains of being misunderstood or unappreciated
- A6a *Organized*: self-controlled and prudent
- A6b *Disciplined*: maintains a regulated, structured lifestyle
- A6c *Perfectionistic*: Painfully fastidious, meticulous, or fussy; excessively devoted to work/productivity; may manifest authoritarian submission or aggression
- A9e *Vigilant*: scans environment for potential threat; firmly resists external influence and control

Attribute B: Interpersonal conduct

- B1a *Commanding*: powerful, commands respect
- B1b *Intimidating*: coerces others, tends to inspire fear
- B1c *Belligerent*: humiliates others; verbally abusive or derisive; sadistic
- B2a *Tough*: hardnosed and shrewd; utilitarian
- B2c *Machiavellian*: uses and manipulates others to achieve personal goals, enhance self, or indulge desires
- B3a *Demonstrative*: displays feelings openly; amiable
- B4a *Compliant*: conciliatory and placating
- B5c *Uncooperative*: obstructive and intolerant; contrary or oppositional; chronically complains or passively resists demands for adequate performance
- B6a *Polite*: courteous and proper
- B6b *Respectful*: adheres to social conventions; prefers polite, formal, "correct" personal relationships
- B6c *Conforming*: rigidly rule-bound; insists that subordinates adhere to personally established rules and methods; excessively formalistic with subordinates but typically ingratiating in relation to superiors
- B7a *Private*: maintains social distance
- B7b *Shy*: seeks acceptance but maintains distance to avoid social rejection or humiliation
- B8a *Unobtrusive*: prefers solitary activities
- B9d *Quarrelsome*: contentious; frequently abrasive; does not forgive insults and tends to carry grudges
- B0e *Paradoxical*: tends to react in angry, often self-damaging ways that frequently elicit rejection rather than support

Attribute C: Cognitive style

- C1a *Subjective*: holds strong opinions; typically outspoken
- C1b *Dogmatic*: opinionated, closed-minded, and obstinate
- C2a *Imaginative*: exhibits creativity in formulating ideas; resourceful
- C3a *Unreflective*: focuses on external events
- C5a *Skeptical*: questioning or doubting; cynical
- C6a *Circumspect*: cautious; wary of new or untested ideas; avoids risk

Attribute D: Mood/Temperament

- D1a *Angry*: disinclined to experience and express tender feelings; excitable temper, quick to anger when obstructed; may at times be viewed as mean-spirited
- D1b *Hostile*: pugnacious temper which flares readily into contentious argument and physical belligerence; reacts to personal criticism with rage; willing to do harm, even persecute others to get own way
- D2a *Unruffled*: serene; typically cool, calm, collected, and optimistic
- D2b *Insouciant*: calculated coolness, not easily ruffled; manifests general air of nonchalance and imperturbability, except when confidence is shaken, at which time either anger, shame, or emptiness is briefly displayed
- D4a *Tender*: sensitive to emotions and others' feelings; warm-hearted and gentle
- D5b *Irritable*: frequently touchy, obstinate, and resentful, followed in turn by moody withdrawal; may be described as testy
- D6a *Restrained*: keeps emotions and impulses under control; favors reason over emotional expressiveness
- D6b *Solemn*: unrelaxed and joyless; restrains warm feelings and keeps most emotions under tight control

Attribute E: Self-image

- E1a *Assertive*: strong and upstanding
- E1b *Competitive*: powerful, energetic, realistically hardheaded
- E1c *Dominant*: values aspects of self that present tough, power-oriented image
- E2a *Confident*: self-assured
- E2b *Admirable*: high self-worth, despite being seen by others as egotistic, inconsiderate, or arrogant
- E3a *Charming*: views self as socially desirable or attractive
- E5a *Unappreciated*: views own aptitudes and competencies as being unrecognized or undervalued
- E6a *Reliable*: views self as industrious and efficient
- E6b *Conscientious*: views self as meticulous in fulfilling obligations

- E7a *Lonely*: recognizes self as isolated, yet desires social acceptance
 E9e *Embittered*: insular and pridefully independent: experiences intense fear of losing status and powers of self-determination

NOTES

1. I use the term *meta-analysis* because the personality profiles represent a synthesis of the observations of others, including biographers, psychobiographers, historians, psychohistorians, journalists, political analysts, and political psychologists. I use the term *psychodiagnostic* because the conceptual framework is more closely related to the realm of contemporary clinical assessment than to classic psychobiography or to conventional social-psychological and cognitive approaches to the assessment of political personality. The "psychodiagnostic" label is not intended to imply a presupposition of psychopathology: *diagnostic* is used in a generic sense to denote a process "serving to distinguish or identify," as defined in *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (1997); accordingly the object is to identify a leader's personality pattern and to distinguish this pattern from those of other leaders.
2. Inventory available upon request from the compiler.
3. Manual available upon request from the author.
4. No doubt the placement of individuals on the adaptive-maladaptive continuum is a complex and controversial undertaking (see Frances, Widiger, & Sabshin, 1991, for a review). Establishing the viability and utility of such an endeavor awaits empirical confirmation.
5. Ratings and documentation available upon request from the author.
6. All Millon 1994a citations in this article refer to the *Millon Index of Personality Styles* (MIPS). Copyright © 1994 by Dicandrien, Inc. MIPS personality descriptions are reproduced by permission of the publisher, The Psychological Corporation. All rights reserved. "MIPS" is a registered trademark of The Psychological Corporation.
7. The uppercase letter in each item code signifies the attribute domain, the numeral signifies the MIDC scale, and the lowercase letter signifies the scale gradation. MIDC items are adapted from "Personality prototypes and their diagnostic criteria" by T. Millon, in *Contemporary Directions in Psychopathology: Toward the DSM-IV* (pp. 671-712), by T. Millon and G. L. Klerman (Eds.), 1986, New York: Guilford, copyright © 1986 by Guilford Publications, Inc.; and from *Personality and Its Disorders: A Biosocial Learning Approach* (pp. 38-43), by T. Millon and G. S. Everly, Jr., 1985, New York: Wiley, copyright © 1985 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Adapted with permission. Documentation of bibliographic references in support of MIDC item endorsements is available upon request from the author.
8. See Footnote 7.

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